1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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and in discussing it with native informants, they said it was because he paid for it with *tsera*. It has already been noted that land, as a rule, is inherited automatically, and this is the only instance of a "sale" of land (even though a temporary one) between natives.

While land is communally owned, vegetables, trees, and anything planted on it are individually owned. Thus, if a man plants a tree, this tree and its fruit belong exclusively to him, and at his death will belong to his maternal nephew, or some other clan relative. But the land on which the tree is planted retains its communal ownership.

The same principle holds for the sea. There is no private ownership of rights in fishing. The sea and the reefs are open to all. If a man makes a trap in the shallow water off the reef, the fish in it will belong to him. But anyone can make such a trap in any place.

Thus the land and sea, from which come the means of livelihood for these people, are communally owned, and only the actual fruits of one's labour are private possessions. Objects owned individually are: ornaments, spears, implements, houses, clothes, and currency.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

The utilization of these communally owned natural resources for individual needs might be called work. Production is much the same all the year round, and there are very few seasonal variations. The two seasons are: (1) that of the South-East Trade Winds, which is the dry season, and (2) the one of the North-East Monsoon, which brings the rain. The former begins in April and lasts until December. But this is the wet tropics, so that even in the so-called dry season there is usually some rain once every twenty-four hours, most frequently in the night. During the rainy season there is less fishing and a slight lessening in general outdoor

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activities. But it is merely a matter of degree. The intense sunshine which follows the heavy rains causes a rapid evaporation. So, even after the heaviest storms, gardening is resumed, and fishing and house-building are begun again. Coconut and other trees bear all the year round, and in the same way there are taro crops all the year. There are thus no contrasting seasons of plenty and dearth, unless there are exceptional times of drought. The description of work will hold, therefore, for the whole year, although there may be slightly less activity during the rainy season.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

It is the sexual division of labour adhered to so rigidly that first strikes the ethnological observer. Men have one kind of work and women another, and a third kind may be done by either one of them or jointly. As a whole, the division appears to be a most equitable one, and based on the physical capacities of each sex. It is the men who have the strenuous job of clearing the dense jungle ground, and it is the women who come later and plant on it. It is the women who cook, while the men bring in the firewood and make the fires. Even in the cooking there is a division, for the men prepare the animals to be baked, while the women's cooking is restricted to the vegetable portions of the meal—taro and yams. It is the men who go forth into the sea with their nets and spears to catch the fish, while the women content themselves with catching crabs off the reef. It is the women who feed the pigs, carry the water, and keep the house clean, while the men go into the bush and hunt wild pigs. It is the men who build the houses and keep them in repair, but the women carry the heavy burdens on their backs. There are joint occupations such as taking care of the children, the making of magic, and minor detailed work like the basket-making. Carving and most of the objects of material culture are made by

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

The record depends entirely on the information given me by mothers who named their children in the order in which they were born, and then described those who died by saying "died while still breast-feeding", or "died after having finished with breast-feeding". Others standing by refreshed the memory of a mother as to names of children and approximate age at death when she appeared uncertain. Relatively few mothers had to be assisted in this way, but in one or two villages the information is not to be relied upon.

On looking down this column one finds that deaths during lactation are more numerous in some villages than in others, e.g., seven villages on the lower road between Kandan and Karu average 33 per cent. of issue dying during lactation. It is in this vicinity that the high central range runs close to the coast, its slopes falling abruptly down to the water's edge where the villages are built usually on coral cliffs. The cold mountain winds and rains sweep through them day and night, producing a climatic condition of sudden changes from heat to cold, which must be exceedingly dangerous for people who live there practically in nakedness. The garden lands are scattered all over the place, mostly on the steep mountain sides, and garden work is probably more strenuous than it is in the districts nearer to Kavieng, especially for pregnant women, or women nursing children that have to be carried about by their mothers when working in their gardens or looking for shell fish in the sea. I saw infants being fed on solid foods, and it was quite a common thing to meet pregnant women or women with babies trudging up and down the mountain sides on their way to and from the gardens, with enormous bags of food, and infants sitting on top of the bags. On discussing with the men the question of women resting while pregnant, I was told that the women insist on doing their share of the work at this period for fear of being shamed by other women, especially the older ones, who laugh at them if they become more careful with pregnancy and talk in a superior way of what women did and endured in olden times. At the same time, my informant pointed out, a husband steps in and relieves his wife as much as possible of heavy work during the period of gestation and lactation. I was also told that men try to keep their wives out of the water during these periods by doing more shell-fishing themselves. This may be so in a few individual cases, but I am inclined to think that most of the women have to bear their burden alone, and, as the conditions of life are rather too strenuous at this end of the road for child-bearing women, the health of both the mother and the child suffers, with disastrous results to the child. This, to my mind, accounts for the low issue rate and heavy infant mortality rate in this group of villages. Being situated where they are, far from any plantation and over 100 miles from the Medical Officer at Kavieng, places them out of reach of the present medical service, which is not able to cope